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GENOCIDE EDUCATION IN CAMBODIA

Quality Control on the Teaching of "A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)"

Phnom Penh, June 2-6, 2011 By Khamboly Dy

1. INTRODUCTION



The compound of Chhouk Va High School in the suburb of Phnom Penh

On June 2-6, 2011, the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam) and the Ministry of Education conducted an evaluation and observation of four classrooms in the capital city of Phnom Penh. The evaluation team consisted of two DC-Cam staff members, Mr. Khamboly Dy and Mr. Sovann Morm, and two

officials from the Ministry of Education, Mr. Siv Thoun

and Mr. Va Vuthy. The team observed four classroom teachings and conducted twelve interviews with teachers, students, School Directors, and villagers. The purpose of the evaluation was to examine the effectiveness of the teaching of KR history in Cambodian classrooms as well as to look at various challenges teachers and students face in teaching this history. The team also wanted to see the perspectives and attitudes of teachers and students as well as the education officials and the population at-large with respect to teaching and learning KR history in the classroom. At the end of each classroom observation and evaluation, the team provided feedback and recommendations for improvement to the observed teachers and School Directors on the areas they should improve to ensure that the teaching of "A History of Democratic Kampuchea" reaches its goal in broader terms.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Phnom Penh has been the Cambodian capital since the 14th century. After the collapse of the Angkorean period, the Cambodian king moved the capital from one place to another to avoid attacks from Thailand – finally settling the capital in what is now called Phnom Penh. Penh is the name of an old lady who initiated the construction of Buddhist temple and stupa on a small hill situated in the center of the capital. Phnom Penh is now the center of education, business, culture, and state administration. Historic buildings such as the Royal Palace, National Museum,

Parliament building, governmental buildings, and foreign embassies are all located in Phnom Penh. To date, Phnom Penh's population reaches almost three million. Most residents are civil servants, merchants, and factory workers.

Phnom Penh has changed its face many times in the past half century. It was considered the "Pearl of Asia" and "an Island of Peace" during Sihanouk's regime between 1955 and 1970. After the March 1970 coup that deposed Prince Sihanouk from power, the rightist American-backed government led by Marshall Lon Nol took control of the administration following severe civil war. The coup also marked the end of Cambodian neutrality and Cambodia's descent into the Second Indochina War. From 1970 to early 1975, Phnom Penh witnessed political instability, economic downfall, corruption, and armed struggles between the Khmer Rouge (KR) resistant forces and the Khmer Republic government. Millions of refugees who escaped the war poured into the capital. Together with social turmoil, the capital lost its status as the "Pearl of Asia." Worse than that, Phnom Penh experienced the most traumatic event in Cambodian history when it fell into the hands of the communist KR in April 1975. Immediately after the arrival of the KR guerilla forces, the capital was emptied and became a "ghost city." About two million people, most of whom were refugees from the countryside, were forcefully evacuated out of the capital to conduct agricultural work in the countryside. There were no exceptions to the evacuation. Children, elderly, pregnant women and hospital patients were forced to leave. On each exit out of the city, the KR put checkpoints to screen for former Khmer Republic officials, soldiers, and military officers for arrest and summary execution. Because April is the hottest month in Cambodia, thousands died along the way. Children, elderly and the infirmed were not able to endure such hardships.



Young students playing on the ground during the break time

The KR controlled over the capital city of Phnom Penh for 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days. In early January 1979, forces of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea and Vietnamese forces took over the capital and almost the entire country ten days later. Though Phnom Penh (or "ghost city" as it came to be called) was liberated, the city once again fell under the influence of the Cold War, particularly the ideological

competition between the former Soviet Union and China, who had committed a lot of resources and political support to their respective beneficiaries. The status of Phnom Penh as the center of Cambodian education, culture, business, and governmental administration was in question. Although the KR forces lost control over the capital they were able to establish some legitimacy with support from China, US, and Southeast Asian countries. The Vietnamese-supported Phnom Penh government was under international sanction because of its unfortunate siding with

the Soviet socialist bloc. After political settlement and the first national election in 1993, Phnom Penh regained its status as a prominent city.

Nearly 30 years after the collapse of the KR, the history of the KR mass atrocities began to take shape. In June 2009, the first-ever national teacher training on the teaching of *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* was convened in the Senate Library with 39 participants, all of whom were officials from the Ministry of Education and DC-Cam. Five months later, in November, 186 provincial teachers were trained on the same topic. Later in 2010, close to 2,000 history teachers nationwide were trained. Finally, wider teaching on KR history in the Cambodian classrooms emerges in the form of integration with other subjects such as literature and morality.

To date, Phnom Penh consists of 29 high schools, and of these schools, 72 history teachers from these high schools received training on both the content of the history and methodologies to teach this history in April 2011. Located in the capital, both teachers and students have more access to teaching resources compared to schools in the provinces. For instance, nine high schools inaugurated the establishment of antigenocide memorials. In each inauguration, 300 copies of the DK history textbook, 300 copies DC-Cam's *Search for the Truth* magazine, 300 copies of booklets on Case 002 and anti-genocide posters were distributed to students and teachers. Some high schools received over 2,000 copies of the DK history textbook. These include Russeiy Keo, Indra Devi, Preah Sisowat, and Preah Yokunthor high schools.

B. EVALUATION SUMMARY TABLE

According to the evaluation and observation teams, some suburban schools received only a few copies of the textbook. History teachers who received training began integrating DK history into their regular teaching. As DK history is a new program and the Ministry of Education's social study textbooks contain little text devoted to DK history, the integration of DK history into the classroom teaching in Phnom Penh is considerably limited. The Municipal Office of Education and school leadership requested that more teachers be trained and more copies of the DK history textbook be distributed to the schools.

The table below is a brief summary of the evaluation works in Phnom Penh province.

Quality control project objectives	 Evaluate the effectiveness of the teaching of <i>A History of Democratic Kampuchea</i>. Evaluate the effectiveness of the teaching materials: (1) DK history textbook, (2) Teacher's Guidebook and (3) Student Workbook. Evaluate the integration of DK history into the daily regular teaching in schools. Examine students' and teachers' attitude toward
	learning and teaching DK history in the

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36 6 1 4	classroom.				
Means of evaluation	 one-hour observation 				
	 Interviews with students, teachers, school 				
	directors and parents.				
	Surveys with students and teachers				
Tools for evaluation	Classroom observation checklist				
	Questionnaire for teacher				
	Questionnaire for student				
	Interview questions				
Types of school	Urban: Wat Koh High School				
	Rural: Chea Sim Chhouk Va, Toul Prasat Sen Sok,				
	and Koh Dach High Schools				
	Most remote areas: NA				
Number of classes	• Four				
observed					
Average number of	Between 45 and 50				
students per class					
Approximate number of	Approximately 3 percent				
students with textbook					
Approximate number of	Only teachers who participated in the training				
teachers with Teacher's	have guidebooks and student workbooks on-				
Guidebook and student	hand.				
workbook					
Approximate number of	No students have received a student workbook.				
students with student					
workbook					

2. PRE-EVALUATION ACTIVITIES

Meeting with education officials and School Directors



 $Meeting\ with\ Director\ of\ Toul\ Prasat\ Sen\ Sok\ High\ School$

Mr. Chea Cheat, Head of the Municipal Office of Education has been very supportive to the Genocide Education Project. He has participated in several events such as the opening ceremony of the fourth commune teacher training in Phnom Penh and the inauguration of the anti-genocide memorials in several high schools in Phnom Penh. One day prior to the observation and evaluation work, the team needed a

permission letter from the Municipal Office of Education in order to observe the classrooms. It was a day-off for the civil servants. In spite of this, Mr. Chea Cheat allowed the team to meet him in his office and produced the permission letter for us.

He said that if the team encounters any problems during their mission, they can call him directly.

The team contacted the school at least one or two hours in advance in order to observe the general conditions of the schools as well as to talk to the school directors. The team met the school directors ahead of classroom observations, and in this meeting the observation team presented the permission letters and explained the purpose for conducting their observations. We also discussed with the school directors the general challenges each school faces. Three out of four school directors talked about the lack of teachers, while all school directors mentioned the lack of teaching materials. Finally, we asked about the number of text and guidebook copies the schools received and degree to which DK history has been integrated into the general curriculum.

The table below shows the names, number of teachers, students, and classrooms for each school.

No.	High School	Teachers	Female Teachers	Students	Classroom
			reachers		
1	Chea Sim Chhouk Va	60	6	874	16
2	Wat Koh	226	112	2,605	65
3	Toul Prasat Sen Sok	67	13	1,208	10
4	Koh Dach	49	12	1,787	25

3. CLASSROOM AND GENERAL OBSERVATION

A. General observations

The capital city of Phnom Penh is considered to be the center of education with more available resources and textbooks than most other schools in Cambodia. In spite of this fact, schools in the suburban areas still face shortages of social study textbooks. For instance, the team observed a classroom teaching at Chea Sim Chhouk Va high school in which only four students had the DK history textbook on hand. This observation is all the more significant because the classroom consisted of twenty-five students, a surprisingly small class size which indicated the school was perhaps better resourced than other schools the team observed. The class of twenty-five students, therefore, had to share the four textbook copies. Among the more than ten subjects a student must take during the school year, he or she is allowed to borrow only three kinds of textbooks. Students have to come up with their own solutions for acquiring materials for the other seven subjects. Those who are from elite families may buy the remaining textbooks, while poor students have to shift and share the textbooks among friends who sit next to them. Teachers who teach grades 10, 11, and 12 do not have guidebooks, and at the same time, teachers do not possess enough skills or training to design effective lesson plans. Ultimately the quality of education is diminished in no small fashion.

The lack of teaching materials could possibly be one of the major reasons for why most teachers decide to use traditional methods of asking one or two students to read sections in the book followed by simple comprehension questions. Both teachers and students are not able to afford sufficient copies of textbook that would allow for more innovative student-centered lessons. In one case for example, Chhouk Va high school has not even received a DK history textbook, and the entire school relies on a sole copy brought by a teacher who participated in the April 2011 commune teacher training.

Teacher Hak Sen Sophea of Chhouk Va high school said that most students in the school come from a slum area called Sambok Chab ("bird nest"). They were evacuated from the center of the capital for a development project and were re-settle in the suburb of the city. Most families are poor and cannot afford to provide sufficient support for their children to come to school. Students are often absent from school as they need to help their parents to earn money for daily living. This factor leads to a high dropout rate amongst the students.

The gap between high schools in the capital center and those in the suburb is large. Schools in the suburb, such as Chhouk Va and Toul Prasat Sen Sok, lack both classrooms and teachers. Toul Prasat Sen Sok high school does not even have a director's office. The school leadership had to convert two classrooms into their offices. Only last year did the school have electricity. In contrast, Wat Koh high school has a surplus of teachers and extra classrooms. In addition, Wat Koh has a functioning library, computer rooms, laboratory, and sewing class. The school also has a life skill center and agricultural fields in which students are taught the skills necessary for their living such as planting rice and building houses. Wat Koh is also famous for its arts and sports since the school has sport facilities such as basket ball, volleyball, badminton, and football. In contrast, the suburban schools do not have these facilities to encourage students to get involved in arts or sports. An interesting point, however, is that in spite of Wat Koh's resources it too faces a large dropout rate each year. Some students leave the schools and attend private schools, while others migrate with their parents to the suburb.



Mr. Siv Toun led survey with students.

Mr. Siv Thoun and Mr. Va Vuthy observed survey with students.

The schools in the capital are also supplemented by their access to scholarships from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Several poor students live under the support of the NGOs, providing living expenses and month stipends. However, this advantage is limited to only a few poor students.

B. Excerpts from classroom teaching

Below is an excerpt from a classroom teaching with the integration DK history.

Teacher Hak Sen Sophea, Chea Sim Chhouk Va High School, Grade 12 of History class

Chapter 2: Lesson 5: People's Republic of Kampuchea and the State of Cambodia (1979-1991)

Duration: 1 Hour

Objectives:

- Describe the creation of United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea.
- Analyze the fall of the Democratic Kampuchea regime.
- Participate in the campaign against the genocidal regime, not to allow it to return to Cambodian again.

Teaching materials: History textbook for grade 12, page 229, and *A History of Democratic Kampuchea* (1975-1979)

Process and Procedure:

Step 1: Teacher observed the classroom order and sanitation.

Step 2: Teacher asked students a question: What were the

reasons for the fall of the DK regime?



Mr. Hak Sen Sophea is teachig in the classroom.

Step 3: The teacher asked two or three students to take turns in reading sections of the lesson. After that, the teacher explained some difficult terms such as genocide, riot, and the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea. Then the teacher asked the following questions: Who is Hu Nim? When did he work against Pol Pot? In March 1976, when did people in Battambang and Siem Reap stand up against Pol Pot? In March and April 1977, what areas stood up against Pol Pot? What happened to these people? When did the KR start killing more and more people? What were the reactions from the people? Who is Heng Sarin? What did he seek from the people? When was the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea established? Who were the leaders? When did the United Front and Vietnamese forces start liberating the country? When was Phnom Penh liberated?

After the liberation day of 7 January 1979, what were the conditions of Cambodian people?

Step 4: The teacher asked students to summarize the lesson related to Democratic Kampuchea.

Step 5: The teacher advised students not to take Pol Pot as example and read books related to the Khmer Rouge regime.

4. OBSERVATIONS OF STUDENTS

Although integration is limited and there are few copies of the DK history textbook, students demonstrated knowledge of some basic historical events that occurred during the KR regime, especially the stories of their parents and grandparents at that time. This finding contrasts with claims that Cambodian youth know little or nothing about DK.

Students in Chhouk Va and Koh Dach high schools were able to answer several questions from the teachers. They knew the reasons for the fall of the KR regime, the rebellions against the KR leadership in 1976, and the purge of Hu Nim, the KR Minister of Information. Moreover, they talked about the sporadic conflicts with Vietnam and the struggle of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea with assistance from Vietnam against the KR. The students also demonstrated their ability to link their answers on KR history to the aftermath of 1979. Apart from the textbook, they learned this information from their parents. At the end of the class, the teacher asked the students if they wanted the return of the KR regime. The students spontaneously answered "No."



The compound of Koh Dach High School with many slogans

According to interviews with teachers and based on classroom observations, students seem to be very interested whenever teachers talk about DK history. Some teachers said that they sometimes could not finish their regular lessons because students have a lot of questions on DK. They described how hard it was to

bring students' attention back to the regular lessons. One

student from Chhouk Va high school said that when she read about DK, she felt fear and pity for her parents. One of her uncles was a former KR cadre. She heard her

parents say that her uncle used to harm people during the KR. However, she never dared to ask him about his work during that time. He is now a layman in the nearby pagoda. She said that she believed in what happened during the KR because everyone talks about this subject. They were living witnesses. She talked to her friends about war and the killings during the KR. They said that they were lucky to be born in this regime. They wanted to know "Why did the KR, who were educated, kill their own people?"

Though students had a lot of questions in mind, they believed in what their parents and relatives have told them. One student from Tuol Prasat Sen Sok High School said, "The old people will never lie about their suffering to their children. I believe this 100 percent."

5. INTEGRATION OF DK HISTORY COMMENTARY

The integration of DK history into the social studies teaching is considerably limited. According to interviews with teachers, the integration is done through oral narrations and a few fact-finding questions, either at the beginning or in the middle of the lesson—primarily in places where the teachers saw the greatest relevance to the subject material at-hand. The integration rarely went beyond brief story-telling. Students do not have any devoted activities on DK history, nor do teachers use the DK history textbook during their integration. Interviews with students show that teachers rarely teach DK history in the class. However, for the most relevant lessons such as the lesson on the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) regime, teachers were able to discuss more about KR period since the two regimes are inter-related and the integration is done throughout the entire session.

Only teachers who have participated in the DC-Cam's teacher trainings made an effort to integrate DK history into their regular teaching. The other teachers (who had not been trained) seem to feel that they do not have any obligation to teach or integrate DK history. In spite of this fact, the untrained teachers still talked about DK when any of their lessons related to KR issues. However, the untrained teachers cannot be



Mr. Siv Thoun and Mr. Va Vuthy are giving feedbacks to the teacher.

blamed as they have not yet received training, nor do they have resources or the teacher's guidebook to teach this sensitive history. More teacher trainings are needed to reach out to history teachers who have not had chance to attend the training and the teacher trainings must be expanded to include teachers in the fields of Khmer Studies, Citizen Morality, Earth Studies, and Home Economics.

In some cases, teachers integrated DK history through moral advice. For instance, if students did not pay attention to their studies, teachers would say, "If you were in KR regime, you would be taken for reeducation, forced labor, or even execution." This advice sometimes leads to more discussions on the KR regime during the teaching sessions.

Among the four schools observed, Koh Dach high school,¹ which is considered to be the most remote school in Phnom Penh, turned out to be the most effective in integrating DK history. The teacher explained lessons clearly to the students and used new methods he gained from the DC Cam teacher training to generate students' understanding. In the middle of the session, the teacher divided students into group discussions. He introduced two critical questions: What are the effects of the DK regime on Cambodia? Do you love peace? Why or why not? He allowed enough time for students to discuss and analyze. However, he failed to use the DK history textbook during the integration. The school has the most effective integration of DK history, even though the integration in general was small.

The main reason for the limited integration of DK history can be traced to the vast number of lessons included within the Ministry's social studies textbooks. Teachers complained that they hardly finished the program set by the Ministry; therefore, they are not able to allocate much time for the integration of DK history. Teachers recommended that to have wider integration, the Ministry of Education must issue an instruction to integrate DK history as well as reducing the amount of foreign histories, which dominate the current history textbooks in use today for grades 9 to 12.

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¹ To go to Koh Dach, one has to travel on national road No. 6. Travelling for about 10 kilometers, there is a sign on the right hand side saying "ferry to Koh Dach." It takes about fifteen to twenty minutes to cross the Mekong River to Koh Dach. The school is situated beautifully in the middle of the island, which is about seven kilometers long and three kilometers wide. The school is much more organized and environmentally pleasant than expected. Inside the school compound, there are a lot of trees and flowers. A number of slogans are attached to the trees for educational purposes. The classrooms are decorated with educational slogans, flowers, pictures, and posters. The physical outlook of the school is as beautiful as those in the center of the city. In spite of this, the school still lacks infrastructure and qualified teachers. Donors and supporters usually donate only school buildings and teaching facilities such as tables and chairs. Koh Dach consists of one commune and five villages: La-vea, Roneas, Koh Dach, Chong Koh, and Kbal Koh. There are seven pagodas, five primary schools, one lower secondary school, and one high school. Lower secondary school and high school are in the same compound. Koh Dach is famous for its silk cloth.



The Pagoda on the Koh Dach Island

A Ferry to Koh Dach Island

6. IMPACTS

While one or two copies of the DK history textbook are not enough for an entire school, just having one or two copies on-hand was shown to have had a great impact on students' knowledge. Mr. Hak Sen Sophea from Chhouk Va high school put one copy in the library and the other in the teacher meeting hall. The two copies become so old and decayed as students and teachers took turns to read. The observation team gave 25 extra copies to the school and promised that DC-Cam will allocate more copies for all suburban schools in the capital. Mr. Sophea said that he sent two copies to an orphanage center in Kampong Speu province. The center wanted more copies for the orphanage there. The team said that the center can submit formal requesst to DC-Cam, and we will offer extra copies for them.

At Wat Koh high school, a teacher who participated in the provincial teacher training was aware of the inauguration of the anti-genocide memorial in various high schools in Phnom Penh. He conveyed this information to the school director who requested that DC-Cam hold a book distribution and put anti-genocide slogans in his school because so far the school has not yet received any formal textbook distribution,, nor has the school received the number of copies of the DK history textbook (according to a quota in which each school is to receive 130 copies). The team agreed in principle that they will report this request to DC-Cam and, if agreed upon, will contact the school director in order to prepare this event. The director said he wanted to have the slogan inauguration in October, which is the start of the academic year.

One teacher of Wat Koh high school said that she is now teaching the teachers who are studying for additional credits to be promoted to upper secondary school level teachers. The study takes place every evening in her school. The knowledge of KR history and the methodology enhance her capacity to teach the teachers, some of whom had gone through the KR period. She said that without the proper training,

she would not have been able to deal with the students who are at her age or older. However, she, in some cases, found it easier to teach them because they were KR survivors and remembered a lot of stories. She even learned many facts about the KR history from them at times.

7. CHALLENGES AND LESSON LEARNED



Mekong River, One of the Longest Rivers in the World

DC-Cam has distributed copies of the DK history textbook to all lower secondary schools and high schools in Phnom Penh, as well as schools in the provinces. Unlike provincial schools which receive between 50 and 100 copies, the four schools in Phnom Penh the team observed have only one or two copies of the textbook. The schools received the textbook through teachers who attended the teacher training and brought

extra copies for their respective schools. In fact, about ten high schools in Phnom Penh received a large number of textbooks; some high schools received up to or even over 2,000 copies. The total number of high schools in Phnom Penh is twenty-nine. High schools in the suburbs of the capital receive less attention and do not have enough copies for their students, thereby compromising the effectiveness of integrating and teaching DK history in the classroom. It is recommended that DC-Cam works collaboratively with the Municipal Office of Education to obtain an updated list of high schools and lower secondary schools in Phnom Penh for the purpose of ensuring that each school receives at least 100 copies for library reference and classroom use.

The school leadership in Phnom Penh seems to be unaware of the teaching and integration of the DK history in the classroom. For instance, Wat Koh and Chhouk Va school directors only knew about the teacher training, but not much about the DK history textbook and its integration. They have no knowledge on the collaboration between DC-Cam and the Ministry of Education with respect to the introduction of DK history into Cambodian classrooms. Only those high schools in which DC-Cam had engaged (with respect to textbook distributions or the inauguration of anti-genocide memorials) were aware of the genocide education project. There have to be greater measures taken toward ensuring that school leadership and all teachers, especially those in the fields of History, Khmer Studies, Citizen Morality, Earth Studies and Home Economics, are made aware of the project. A wider textbook distribution to the schools in the suburbs of Phnom Penh and anti-genocide memorials play important roles in disseminating this awareness for a more effective collaboration with the school leadership and the teachers at-large.

Students located in the center of Phnom Penh appear to have little knowledge of the textbook, *A History of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979)*, when compared to students in the provinces. Among the interviewed students, many seem to have never seen the textbook, while a few others said they have seen but never read the textbook. Teachers in the provinces are more active in both teaching DK history and promoting students' awareness on DK history. For example, some teachers in the provinces asked students to read the textbook in the library. This advice was offered in light of the fact that KR questions have appeared in the national exams for the past two consecutive years.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Schools in the suburb of Phnom Penh appear to have little distinction from the schools in the remote provinces in terms of qualified teachers and teaching materials. This observation is significant because the gap between school resources in the capital's center and those in the suburb of Phnom Penh is large. The schools in the suburb still encounter shortages of teachers and students' textbooks. Moreover, teachers are still practicing traditional methods in their classes. Most of the time, teachers ask only the questions that already have the answers in the textbook. Analytical questions are very rare. Group work and presentation are not common practices for many teachers. The interaction in the classes is pretty small. Only a few students work and respond to the teachers while most students have no interactions.

Students' knowledge on DK history is strongly dependant on teacher discretion. At this stage of genocide education in Cambodia, it is important that teachers have professional incentives and personal motivations to teach and integrate DK history into their teaching. This point is even more important given the fact that there is no formal instruction from the Ministry of Education to teach or to integrate yet. The Ministry of Education only agreed in principle that DK history has to be taught in Cambodian schools, but teachers need a more specific instruction distributed via the local education offices. If teachers have passion for their work and see how genocide education contributes to their students' lives as well as the Cambodian nation's healing, teachers will be more likely to spend more time to assign homework and help students to learn more about DK history. To avoid overlapping with the existing program used by the Ministry of Education, teachers can ask students to interview their parents about life during the KR and write a small story out of the interview. Teachers can then spend about ten minutes at the end of class to review the homework altogether.

Survivors have played an integral role in educating their young children about this traumatic history. In the next 20 or 30 years, educating Cambodia's younger generations on DK history will have to totally depend on formal teaching in the classroom and informal teaching through public forums, with input from scholarly research and publications. We must prepare ourselves and society for the day when no survivors will be present to tell us what happened and why.

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